

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07

NSAE-00 DODE-00 IGA-02 ACDA-05 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00

L-03 H-02 EUR-12 /070 W

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P R 041455Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7582

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

471.\$8/AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO 3618

C O N F I D E N T I A L NAIROBI 1116

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MILI, PFOR, KE, UG, SO, ET

SUBJECT: REGIONAL ARMS RESTRAINTS STUDY

REF STATE 20621

1. THANKS TO PRESIDENT KENYATTA'S INSISTENCE ON GIVING TOP PRIORITY TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, KENYA HAS EXERCISED COMMENDABLE RESTRAINT IN ACQUISITION OF WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT FOR ITS ARMED FORCES SINCE AMYAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE IN 1963. HOWEVER, KENYATTA HAS RECENTLY BECOME GENUINELY CONCERNED OVER THREAT TO KENYA'S INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY POSED BY SOMALIA, WHICH HAS IRREDENTIST CLAIMS TO KENYAN NORTHEAST INHABITED MAINLY BY ETHNIC SOMALIS, AND IS NOW HEAVILY ARMED WITH SOPHISTICATED SOVIET WEAPONS. ALSO OF GROWING CONCERN TO KENYA ARE SOVIET-EQUIPPED ARMED FORCES OF UGANDA, LED BY UNPREDICTABLE PRESIDENT AMIN. KENYATTA HAS, THEREFORE, RELUCTANTLY MADE DECISION THAT KENYA'S ARMED FORCES MUST BE SUFFICIENTLY EXPANDED AND MODERNIZED TO DETER ATTACKS BY EITHER OF THESE NEIGHBORS. EVEN IF PRESENTLY-PLANNED MODERNIZATION PROGRAM FULLY REALIZED (WHICH

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WILL DEPEND ON AVAILABILITY OF FOREIGN FUNDING),

KENYA'S ARMAMENTS WILL STILL BE DEFENSIVE IN NATURE
AND RELATIVELY NEST QUANTITATIVELY IN COMPARISON
WITH ITS NEIGHBORS.

2. WHILE MODESTLY-ARMED KENYA WOULD DOUBTLESS WELCOME
REGIONAL ARMS RESTRAINTS, SUCCESS OF ANY SUCH PROPOSALS
WOULD CLEARLY DEPEND ON WILLINGNESS OF SOMALIA AND
UGANDA TO COOPERATE. SINCE AMIN DEPENDS ON SUPPORT
OF UGANDAN ARMED FORCES TO REMAIN IN POWER AND SINCE,
RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, HE FEELS HIMSELF THREATENED BY
TANZANIA, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT HE WOULD BE RESPONSIVE
TO PROPOSALS FOR EITHER QUANTITATIVE OR QUALITATIVE
RESTRAINTS ON ARMS ACQUISITIONS. AS FOR SOMALIA, WE
MUST, OF COURSE, DEFER PRIMARILY TO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
TO COMMENT ON WHAT, IF ANY, RECEPTIVITY THERE WOULD
BE TO ACCEPTANCE OF ARMS RESTRAINT PROPOSALS. HOWEVER,
AS SEEN FROM NAIROBI, THE PROSPECTS DO NOT APPEAR
PROMISING. SOMALI AMBASSADOR HERE CONSISTENTLY TAKES
LINE THAT SOMALI ARMED FORCES MUST MAINTAIN PRESENT
HIGH LEVEL OF ARMAMENT SOLELY AS DETERRENT TO POSSIBLE
ETHIOPIAN PREEMPTIVE ATTACK AND THAT KENYA SHOULD NOT
BE CONCERNED. KENYANS, HOWEVER, SEE IT DIFFERENTLY
AND ARE INDEED CONCERNED BY SOMALIA'S IMPRESSIVE
MILITARY STRENGTH WHICH THEY FEEL COULD BE USED
AGAINST THEM AS WELL AS ETHIOPIA.

3. WHILE PROSPECTS FOR ARMS RESTRAINTS BY THEMSELVES
APPEAR POOR IN THIS REGION, WE BELIEVE IT COULD BE
PRODUCTIVE TO CONSIDER WHETHER ARMS RESTRAINTS MIGHT
BE FEASIBLE WITHIN CONTEXT OF MORE ELABORATE ARRANGE-
MENTS DESIGNED TO DAMPEN CAUSES OF POTENTIAL INTERSTATE
CONFLICT IN HORN OF AFRICA. FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD IT BE
POSSIBLE TO DEVISE SOME PLAN FOR TRIPARTITE (ETHIOPIA,
SOMALIA, KENYA) ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF SPECIALLY
DELINEATED ZONE INHABITED BY ETHNIC SOMALIS ON BOTH
SIDES OF PRESENT NATIONAL BORDERS WHICH MIGHT ECONOMICALLY
BENEFIT ALL THREE COUNTRIES? SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT MIGHT
MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO EXPLOIT RICH GAS DEPOSITS FOUND BY
TENNECO NEAR DOLO, ETHIOPIA BY INDUCING SOMALIA TO
PERMIT CONSTRUCTION ACROSS ITS TERRITORY OF NECESSARY
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PIPELINE TO INDIAN OCEAN. IF IN EXCHANGE FOR PIPELINE
SOMALIA WERE TO RECEIVE FAIR SHARE OF NATURAL GAS
PROFITS, MIGHT IT NOT HAVE VESTED INTEREST IN MAINTAINING
PEACE IN AREA RATHER THAN PURSUING ITS IRREDENTIST CLAIMS
IN ETHIOPIA AND KENYA?

4. WHILE IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE PREFERABLE FOR AFRICAN
COUNTRIES CONCERNED TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN PROPOSALS FOR

ARMS RESTRAINTS AND CONFLICT CONTROL, WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY SERIOUS THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO SUCH MATTERS IN EITHER GOVERNMENT OR ACADEMIC CIRCLES IN KENYA. THEREFORE, IF PROMISING PROPOSAL COULD BE DEVELOPED WITHIN USG, WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO TRANSMITTING TO GOK AS LOW-KEY "SUGGESTION." WHETHER GOK WOULD ACT ON PROPOSAL WOULD, OF COURSE, DEPEND ON ITS OWN ASSESSMENT OF PROPOSAL'S MERITS.

MARSHALL

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